1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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stories of men who have acquired such superlatively high Maki rank—there are none living now—that they have been strong enough, not without raising such storms in the community as almost to wreck it, to break the taboo and re-establish, for themselves alone, spiritual contact with the mother's milk by eating from the same fire as women.[1] Such men who have completed the circle between childhood and divinity are regarded with awe and terror as being almost equal to ghosts.

It is well, therefore, to wait until the meal is over, the pipes lighted,[2] and, with the gathering twilight lit up by moon and stars and by the smouldering fire, to approach with some casual appropriate remark and then sit down and listen, not with the head only, but, as the natives say, the "belly," or what we should call the heart.

Debates.

Another type of meeting from which women are excluded but which the circumspect stranger may attend is that of the debates, which in fine weather are held in the dancing-ground or in wet weather in the *ghamal*. These are described by Godefroy [3] as being either "small" debates, which are a kind of communal recreation when a little is said about everything, or "grand" debates, announced by the sounding of gongs. Such "grand" debates are held only on important occasions, when, for example, a woman has eloped or some insult has been perpetrated against one of the influential members of the clan, or else to announce the date of some rite, or because certain old men wish to summon an offender before this the only tribunal that exists.

If held in the dancing-ground, each member of the clan takes his place at the correct spot indicated by his rank. The oldest members take up their position on the Upper Side, close to the gongs; if there are five or six of them, they squat on their heels, in the form of a square; three paces behind, towards the middle of the ground, sit those one rank inferior to that of the old men; yet further off, and separated by the same distance from those superior to them, are a group of young men; finally, that of the older boys. All speak in a low voice, though the elders talk rather more loudly than the rest. They discuss the subject of their meeting.

[1] The story of one such will be told in a later volume on Atchin.

[2] A European innovation, hand-maiden of the trader who, by creating this artificial craving which occupies some of the native's surplus energy now that his work in the gardens has been so notably lightened by the introduction of iron, has established a tobacco-currency which, as the natives themselves despairingly say, "goes up in smoke," and must be eternally renewed, for the white man's profit.

[3] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 40-1. The word for these debates in his spelling is *sisilakuarean*, from the verb *sisilakuar*. The Atchin equivalent is the verb *tsil-tsilewere*, whence on that island I had conferred on me the half-joking title of Melteg-tsilewere on account of my long sessions with informants. (Melteg is one of the titles conferred on men of high rank in the Maki, see pp. 289, 432.)

3: Harrisson N-5 (1934-1935) 1936
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but there is a big range of inter-tribal difference; take several islands and the variety is great. Curved houses seem to be found only in south Malekula, Ureparapara of the Banks (*cf.* Speiser, 1913, Pl. 15), and the southern islands of the group, an extraordinary distribution. To understand the development and organization of the village only structurally, a full study of each particular unit is necessary.

Speiser (1913) has said something of the distribution of stone works. Stone pudding-basins are confined to Big Bay. I was interested in stone axes, of which I made a considerable collection. Remarkable stone basins, "witching-vats," are confined to Gaua, where Mrs. Baker and I also found a stone effigy (Baker, 1935). In one small area of south-west Santo, around the village of Tavua, the stone axes are entirely distinct from all others in the group, being very slender and long in relation to their breadth. Shell axes do not occur in Santo, but are common in Malekula; in the Big Nambas there are some ritual clubs that seem to be made out of fossilized squid's cuttles, very long and heavy.

War-clubs are curved only in north-east Santo; long stick clubs are confined to the northern islands; paddle clubs characteristic of Malekula are absent on Santo. The Santo and Malo bows are regularly arched; in south and east Malekula the concavity is uneven, greater in the lower half. Feathered spear shafts are apparently confined to north Malekula and islets; fearful spear-tips of serried human bones only in Santo. Feather-shafted arrows I have not seen in Santo, but Speiser reports them from Big Bay, and there are two without locality in the Cambridge Ethnological Museum; in certain *na-leng* dances of north Malekula, feathered arrows are used. Combs worn in the hair show wide pattern range; a triangular form I have only seen on Gaua, and ones with handles decorated by pigs' bristles are confined to Sakau, Santo.

The distribution of *kava* is curious. It has a very local usage in north Malekula, where it is chewed and spat into a trough; is not used in south Malekula; in Sakau, Santo, the stalk is chewed; elsewhere in Santo the root is chewed and spat out into coconut shells (only by chiefs in part of the north-west), except around Turi, where it is absent. In the eastern islands *kava* is generally used green, crushed with a stone pounder. On Malo it is seldom used unless in magical rites.

There is a fair uniformity in the type of mixed bisexual dances connected with the graded society; the musical instruments vary more. Pan-pipes are the most important in north-west Santo; though widespread, these are seldom used for dances elsewhere; they are semi-sacred in central Malekula; into Sakau and Malekula the pan-pipes have been recently introduced. On Malo and in east Santo bamboos beaten on the ground are the main dance accompaniment; the former type is close to a large flute figured by Speiser (1913, Pl. 108). The nose-flute is used in Sakau; musical bow in central-south Malekula. Slit gongs are always upright in the patrilineal central islands, reclined in the northern islands. Sticks tapped together have developed into a dance band in the Big Nambas. Bone knives are common in south Malekula, but nowhere else have I found one; wooden knives are absent in Malekula, crude in Malo and W. Santo, elaborate in the Banks Islands.